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621 578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

Uninhabited Islands

361 [772] [766] Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaki.

[773] [778] Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani[8] has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

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[8]A large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called [783] *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 533 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna*, coral or lime; *tohu*, to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai*, water; *hahae*, to break; and *tupapa'u*, corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava*, or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu*, was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane*, spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie*, made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

● 766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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priest. It is said that the death of an inspirational or a ceremonial priest had to take place on a *me'ae* (4). According to Père Pierre, on the first day following the death came the rite called *poou*. The body was washed and wrapped in a new cloth. On the second day the rite *kahahakatu* was performed when a special house called *ha'e uaka* was erected in the sacred place *(me'ae)*, and decorated with coconut leaves. On the third day was the rite *pouhau*. On this day the body of the dead priest or chief was carried into the *ha'e uaka*. The house was further decorated with strips and rolls of sacred white and red bark cloth, with branches of a plant called *ata*, and with flowers of *koute (Hibiscus rosa sinensis)*. Three bundles of peeled fau poles were set up in the ground and decorated with the white and red cloth. During all these three days, a ceremonial *tapu* prevailed for the whole tribe, no one being allowed, on pain of death, to leave his house or to light a fire for cooking. Following these days of preliminary ceremony, there was continuous chanting in the sacred place for from twenty to thirty days.

At the time of the death of a chief or priest the violent mourning that was customary in connection with all deaths, was carried to an extreme by all the tribe. The following quotation gives a picture of the activities at this time as seen by an early American missionary (7, pp. 240-1):

> On the fourth of December, 1833, he [the chief of Taiohae] died. The hills then echoed with wailing, the thumping of drums and the blowing of conch shells. The body was hung high in a canoe over the *heiau* [rock platform for worship] and the first wife was obliged to remain continually in care of it, to provide food for the spirit, until the body had so far decayed that the bones could be picked out, which it was the privilege of the wife or the nearest relative to do.

Mr. Alexander has given a description of the scenes he then witnessed. He says:

> The funeral rites beggared description for obscenity, noise, cruelty, and beastly exposure. They lasted several days, and were the darkest days I ever saw. Companies came from all parts, filling the air with loud wailings, dancing in a state of perfect nudity around the corpse like so many furies, cutting their flesh with shells and sharp stones till the blood trickled down to their feet, the women tearing out their hair, both men and women knocking out their teeth, indulging in the most revolting licentiousness, and feasting to excess, while muskets were fired and seashells were kept a-blowing with a long deep sepulchral sound during the whole night.

According to Dordillon (9), upon the occasion of a chief's death, there was a general *tapu* which reigned one month, during which time no fire could be lighted and no work done. It was believed that anyone who violated this *tapu* would be eaten by a shark. During this time the chief's body lay in or near his own house. At the end of a month it was carried to the *me'ae and* a rite of deification was performed. The elevation of the

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766 spirit was accomplished by the sacrifice of from one to ten human victims. Accompanying this sacrifice there was a great feasting and rejoicing, for it was believed that the tribal god would give abundance of fruits.

The following description of the practices surrounding a chief's death is from the Dordillon MS.: When the chief became seriously ill, a woman 763 diviner *(vehine tau'a)* was called in to discover the cause of the illness. 787 While the chief was sick, his wife and children wept; when he died, everyone came to weep, cutting themselves with bamboo until the blood was spread all about, crying out, "Oh, our chief, here is your miserable child, your miserable child who stays with you. Your death brings misery to your child." All the household, including the servants *(fa'e toa)* wept a great deal. The women relatives of the chief danced outside the house where the body lay, then went inside to him, crying, "Oh, our chief, this is your *heva*." The body rested in the chief's dwelling for six months and was then taken to a sacred house *(fa'e tapu)*. Here the skin was taken off *(ua hoe te kĭ'i)*—a very long process. While this was being done, a burial house *(fa'e tupapa'u)* was built. When the skin was off and the flesh blackened and dried, the body wrapped in cloth, a head dress was put on the head, ornaments in the ears, and so on. Thus dressed in complete regalia, the corpse was put into a coffin, after which it was carried into its sacred house amidst shooting of guns. This house was built by the chief's servants. While building it, they had to eat there, and after finishing their work, they must bathe in the sea before eating in a common house. While the body lay in the sacred house, the wife offered food and tobacco to it, and continued to mourn and weep all the time the body lay there. The body was left in this house for a year. Then the chief's children came and closed the eyes with leaves, wrapped the bones in a piece of cloth, and hid them in some place in the mountains. Valuables were put in the bundle with the bones. It was a great insult to the remains if they were wrapped in a mat or in anything that had been worn by a woman.

766 According to Père Pierre's account, when a *tau'a* died the whole tribe 784 was under a general *tapu* and warriors were immediately despatched to seek victims. All the people cooked enough pigs to last for seven days, during which time no fires could be built, no one could leave his house, and no work could be done. When the human sacrifices had been secured, the *tapu* was lifted. The body was put on the temple platform and there the sacrifices were offered in its honor. If on the seventh day a victim had not been found, men went to the temple, each carrying on his shoulders a piece of wood and a germinated coconut, which were put on the sacred place. This accomplished, the *tapu* was lifted (4).

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married.

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no decription of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei makamaka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men.

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes,

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the hair, and so on, the object of this rite being the deification, or elevation in power, of the spirit of the dead priest. Great memorial festivals were held in honor of dead priests long after their decease. (See Festivals.)

THE CEREMONIAL PRIEST—TUHUNA O'ONO

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The priest who presided over the ceremonial of the tribe was the *tuhuna o'ono* (*o'ono*, chants) or *tuhuka o'oko*. To direct and lead the ceremonial at public rites, and particularly the chanting which was an important part of them, was the chief function of this priest. Again, it was the *tuhuna o'ono* who recited such chants as the *pu'e*, constituting the chief feature of the ceremonial associated with industries, the consecration of new things, and so on. It was he who had charge of the chanting in private rites, such as that at the time of death. Lastly, he was the professional who was employed to teach the sacred chants called *vavana*, *pu'e*, *tona pou*, etc., to sacred first-borns; who directed and led the chanting of these in the family feasts celebrated for that purpose; and who taught legends. In a word, the *tuhuna o'ono* was at once tribal ceremonial priest and bard.

The position of *tuhuna o'ono* tended to become heriditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a *tuhuna o'ono* to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a *tuhuna o'ono*. No woman ever became a ceremonial priest for the reason that the most sacred of the chants, the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and certain others of lesser importance, were *tapu* to women.

The manner of teaching chants and legends is described in the chapters covering those subjects. A future *tuhuna o'ono* was simply one of a group, who came together to be taught legends and chants by an old *tuhuna*. Showing keenness and intellectual ability, and desiring to become a *tuhuna o'ono*, a man would devote his time to perfecting himself in the recitation of legends, chants, and genealogies, and in increasing his knowledge, until he came to be recognized as an expert.

Before one actually became ceremonial priest for the tribe, he had to be consecrated by two ceremonies at the sacred place. Before these rites of consecration, initiates were subject to certain restrictions: they could not wear flower necklaces (*hei*), make use of saffron on their bodies, nor anoint their bodies or hair with oil; they were obliged to preserve continence, and to play no games; *popoi* with coconut milk and a fish called

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kohoe were ***tapu*** to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called ***tuputu***, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating ***ka'aku*** (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called ***pouhahati*** when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known.

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous ***tuhuna o'ono*** of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting ***tuhuna*** were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local ***tuhuna*** (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting ***tuhuna*** of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a ***tuhuna*** and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called ***ui*** (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (***mana***). Some informants say that a defeated ***tuhuna*** was killed.

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the ***tuhuna o'ono*** lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way.

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the ***tuhuna o'ono*** consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (***hiapo***). In this valley it would seem that the ***tuhuna o'ono*** and the ***tau'a*** wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (***taputoho***) wore white.

Because of his sacred functions, the ***tuhuna o'ono*** was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per-

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formed for the *tuhuna o'ono* at the time of his death as for the inspirational priest and the chief, consisting of the ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe, treatment of the body at the tribal temple, and the chanting and sacrifices, which were intended to elevate his spirit to such power that it would become a mighty god to aid the tribe. The ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* which was prominently associated with these rites seems to be the same as that associated with the *tau'a*—a bundle of three fau stakes wrapped in cloth. The body of the *tuhuna o'ono*, like that of the *tau'a*, was placed, sometimes, at least, in a vault dug beneath the tribal temple. In the valley of Vaii on Nuku Hiva there was a special sacred place consecrated to the sepulchre of ceremonial priests (7).

TEMPLE ASSISTANTS

Temple assistants, called *moa*, *taputoho*, or *u'u*, were chosen by the inspirational priest and performed their duties under his direction. When the priest was possessed he would place his *hoto* (staff of iron-wood) between the legs of a man whom he desired as a *moa*, saying *"Ua hihi oe ma uka o tu u hoto"* (You who are on my *hoto* are sacred.) The man thus chosen had to present himself promptly at the sacred place, deserting his family, for death through a curse of the high priest was the inevitable result of refusal (7).

The duties of the *moa* were to care for, kill, handle, and dispose of the remains of sacrifices, human and otherwise; to prepare the food of the inspirational priest and attend him generally; to take care of the sacred precincts and of the objects in them, such as the chief's skulls used in various rites; to prepare the sacred structures for rites, and so on.

The dress of the temple assistants in Pua Ma'u consisted of a long robe of white cloth covering the whole body like a blanket and coming to the ground (*kahu ko'oko'o*), and a turban made of the dark-colored bark of a very old *ute* stem that had only been tapped or beaten out roughly. This bark cloth was wrapped around the head and tied at the back, leaving an end pendant (*pa'e kohito*).

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (7) these temple assistants were required to remain always at the sacred place, being allowed to have nothing to do with women. At Pua Ma'u I was told, however, that it was only during rites that they were thus consecrated and that between times they were allowed to live at home with their families as anyone else would. This, I believe, was propably the usual situation, as the sacred places were entirely deserted except when rites were being performed. So far as my information goes, there were no especial rites for these temple assistants nor unusual treatment of their bodies upon their death.

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THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing.

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

Fanaua

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits.

Tokai, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way. 1804. May.

The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted.

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people. It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get possession of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua*, they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua's* victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

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remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevolence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua*, corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua*, might be either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent